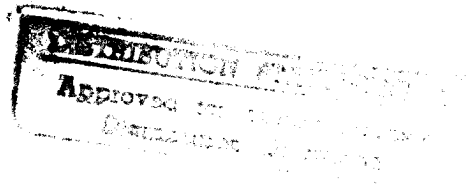


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24 January 1983



# USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

No. 1358

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FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

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## INTERNATIONAL

### WESTERN EFFORTS TO USE CHRISTIANITY AGAINST SOVIET SYSTEM SCORED

Moscow NAUKA I RELIGIYA in Russian No 11, Nov 82 pp 56-58

[Article by M. Gol'denberg, candidate in philosophical sciences: "Uninvited Protectors"]

[Text] The 60 years which have passed since the formation of the USSR have comprised an historical era one of whose most important gains is the solution of the nationalities question which was marked by an especial acuteness and complexity in a country in which more than 100 nations, peoples, and ethnic groups are living.

Abroad, this gives happiness to our friends and gives rise to fury in the enemy camp. Since the solution of the nationalities problem as a whole does not exclude the preservation of echoes of national narrow-mindedness on the periphery of social consciousness, bourgeois reaction is attempting to turn them to its advantage. Our class opponent shows especial zeal in cases when, according to his calculations, survivals of national insularity can be reinforced by religious prejudices.

The unmasking of ideological actions of this kind responds to an important task which was formulated in the decree of the CPSU Central Committee "On the 60th Anniversary of the Formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics." "In view of the fact that nationalism is one of the chief means of imperialism's subversive activity against real socialism," it is emphasized in it, "it is necessary to wage a consistent and aggressive struggle against attempts to incite nationalistic prejudices in individual people, and to resolutely oppose any deviations from the Leninist principles of our nationalities policy. It is necessary to unmask the bourgeois falsifiers of the history of our country and of the nationalities policy of the CPSU with valid arguments."

Let us try to see how bourgeois propaganda is attempting to use various religions as a camouflage for infiltrating nationalistic views, blackening the Leninist nationalities policy of the CPSU, and undermining the indestructible friendship of the peoples of the USSR. Our enemies hypocritically dress themselves up in the vestments of protectors of national cultures, declaring their most important element to be decrepit religious traditions.

Let us note from the very beginning that the methodological principle by which the ideologists of clerical anti-communism are guided consists of a comparison

characteristic for theological thought between real social phenomena, including those connected with the nationalities question, and an illusory Divine Providence. Thus, the present Pope (his statements are cited from the French clerical journal PORZHE, No 151, 1981) opposes "violations of human rights which are accompanied by violations of the rights of the nation with which a person is organically connected. . . ." And human rights, John-Paul II asserts, "will be genuinely recognized only if respect is shown for the transcendental dimension of man who was created in the image and likeness of God, has been called upon to be the son of God and a brother to other people, and who has been designated for eternal life."

It would seem that there are no openly anti-communist ideas in these words. But if you follow the thought, it becomes obvious that insofar as in the Soviet Union the rights of both the nation and of the individual are not deduced from a pseudo-existence in an other-worldly "eternal" life and are not made dependent upon illusory relations between people and God, from the clerical point of view it turns out that these rights are not observed. In fact, the true rights of nations and individuals are realized only where this realization is based on the social character of both man and of any ethnic community, and where concern is shown for satisfying their genuine, earthly material and spiritual needs.

The anti-scientific premises from which clerical anti-communism proceeds give rise to a false representation of the activities of the religious associations which are in operation on the territory of our country. It is characteristic here that this falsification is usually served up "in coordination" with a distorted interpretation of the solution of the nationalities question in the USSR.

Orthodoxy, for example, is presented by reactionary clerics as the preserver of the cultural properties of the Russian people which, they say, is threatened under its godless rule by spiritual savagery and, consequently, by the loss of its national originality--unless it returns to the bosom of "its" Church. Incidentally, there are also quite a few bourgeois writers who believe that despite the efforts of "state atheism," the Russian people never did abandon this bosom, or is already returning to it.

The validation of this "conception" is the particular subject of a large article by the prominent Italian Catholic S. Chirpiani who was a visitor to Moscow: the article is published in the two January-February 1979 issues of the Sunday supplement to the Vatican's OSSERVATORE ROMANO. The writer sees signs of a future merging of the Russian people and Orthodoxy in the fact, for example, that the Kremlin's cathedrals are crowned by crosses. It allegedly follows from this that even the "godless regime" has been compelled to act under the canopy of the life-giving cross, for it has proven to be unable to tear Russia away from its orthodox past. Its history, he says, is inseparably bound up with Christianity, and "Holy Rus'" is not simply a winged expression, but "the reality of a people which is obliged to its Church for the best that is in it."

The myth regarding a religious revival in the USSR which is being zealously spread about in clerical anti-communist circles is supplemented by equally idle inventions to the effect that this pseudo-revival is allegedly being accompanied by a "national renaissance." By this, as we know, our ideological enemies mean not only a flowering of great Russian chauvinism, but also a re-animation of Slavophilism, and a return to the "orthodox sources of Russian history and culture." We have before us not a single historical falsification, but a whole bouquet of them.

Begin with the fact that the Russian people is by no means obliged for "the best that is in it" to the Church--in the past a loyal support for autocracy and serfdom--but to its revolutionary, internationalist traditions. "Holy Rus'" which is being idealized by the clerics is an anti-historic concept which exists only in their imaginations. It has the task of camouflaging the irreconcilable class contradictions which rent pre-revolutionary Russia, and of putting a luster of sanctity on the real visages of most of the Church rulers--persecutors of freedom and of true culture and enlightenment.

As for assertions regarding the beneficial role of the Church in Russian history, the journal of the Jesuits of the United States and Canada AMERIKA (No 17, 1981), for example, "strengthens" this myth with the concept of Orthodox "collectivity" (spiritual unity) which is allegedly a lawful "consequence of 20 centuries of faith." Of course, no one doubts that Orthodoxy has existed and exists within history, although it is generally known that this religion began to be introduced in Rus' by princes and Byzantine missionaries--moreover, forcibly--no earlier than 10 centuries ago; in addition, several additional centuries went for the establishment of Christianity in place of the pagan beliefs which were widespread until then among the Eastern Slavs. As we see, the Jesuit journal is not too strong in Russian history. But these, so to speak, are particulars. The most important thing is something else: the overall result of the role which the Orthodox Church played in Russian history was negative. And not least of all on account of that very "collectivity" which the clerical writers extol. Because "by spiritually uniting" the landowners with their serfs, the capitalists with the workers laboring for them, and the Romanov Dynasty with the orthodox Russian people, the Church was in fact carrying out the reactionary class function which was traditional for it in the system's exploitation.

However, "collectivity" is close to the hearts of our ideological opponents not only in the past, but also in the present. For if it "collects" all of the Orthodox, it turns out that a Soviet person who has maintained an adherence to this confession thereby disunites himself from non-believing Soviet people and those of other beliefs and moves over to those positions which are taken by the monarchial foreign anti-Soviet Orthodox emigration.\*

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\*For more details see the article by N. Gordiyenko, "Longing For the Tsar and the Hetman," NAUKA I RELIGIYA, No 1, 1982.



Nationalism and religion are very clearly made one by the clerical journal INFORMATION CATHOLIC INTERNATIONAL (henceforth--ICI) which writes with clear satisfaction about some kind of "broad review of the past in Russia" which is allegedly characterized by "a mixing of religious and Great Russian nationalistic feelings."

Thus, it turns out that what is involved is no more and no less than a "broad" phenomenon, if, of course, that which the above journal wrote in 1981 (No. 558) is to be taken as the real article. If we turn to what it says in 1982 (No. 571), it is not difficult to convince oneself that this issue, in essence, crosses out the above-mentioned invention. For it is said in it: "Even if a movement of spiritual search really exists, this by no means signifies that it is numerically a substantial one." What are you supposed to believe: in the wide-scale nature of the "religious-nationalistic revival," or in its insignificance?

"The power of the Christian resistance to the atheists" is also expanded upon by the anti-Soviet activist Nikolai Zernov in his book "The Russians and Their Church" (London, 1978). He falls upon the communists with a whole avalanche of accusations whose essence consists not only of the fact that they are allegedly striving to forcibly eradicate Orthodoxy, but also in the fact that they are allegedly making war on the Russian people itself upon whom an "aggressive Westernization" (the compulsory adherence to Western culture) is being imposed. And it turns out that this is expressed in the fact that in the USSR the very word "Russia" has been abolished, the teaching of Russian history has been driven out of the schools, and historical monuments are systematically being destroyed.

It is difficult to imagine what kind of dense ignorance is being counted upon by this Doctor of Philosophy who has the reputation in the West of a major specialist in the problems of Russian culture and the Orthodox Church. Incidentally, judging by the fact that his book has been published in its third edition, there are still quite a few readers in the West who have a very remote idea about our country.

Yet, even in the capitalist world any literate person has undoubtedly heard plenty about the fact that long before the communists, a little less than three centuries ago, Peter I had successfully engaged in the "Westernization" of Russia. As for the country's name, nowadays it has been so "squeezed out" of everyday use that the Russian Federation is the name of our largest union republic, while its chief press organ is called SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA. Of course, it is socialist Russia that is meant here, and not the "Holy Rus'" for which Zernov cries bitter tears and which no grave-side moaning by the zealots of "ancient piety" will revive.

It is difficult to say whether Mr. Zernov knows about the fact that we have an All-Russian Society for the Protection of Historical Monuments and Culture. But since--regardless of whether this is known to him or not--it is in active operation, it is permissible to ask: what is the work of this organization--the destruction, or, on the contrary, the preservation and return to the present

and future generations of the ancient monuments, including many Church edifices. Of course, if they really do have an historical and architectural value which, incidentally, can by no means be said about every church, monastery, or mosque.

But it would seem that one could expect at least some kind of likeness to a scientific approach to the phenomena which he has decided to study from T. Ling, a professor of Comparative Religious Studies at Manchester University. But, alas! Here also anti-Sovietism got the upper hand over elementary scientific objectivity which is replaced by presenting the desired for the actual. In his book "Karl Marx and Religion" (London, 1980) Ling, for example, asserts that "the roots of the Soviet cult are rather Russian than Marxist" and that in the ideological sphere we are dominated by a "Russian Messianism," a faith in the unique historical role of "Holy Rus'" and of Moscow as the "Third Rome."

Paper, as they say, will tolerate everything. But a reader? If he is entirely bereft of the capacity for critical thought--yes. But if he is not? If he figures it out to ask: in what dimension, and in what epoch is the professor living? It is not enough that Ling has arbitrarily rechristened the Marxist-Leninist doctrine as the "Soviet cult." He has also given it a nationalistic flavor, since he has discovered in it certain "Russian Messianic bases" which overshadow Marxism. But this is not all: the professor ascribes to communist ideology even that which the Russian Orthodox Church itself would reject today (the "doctrine" of a unique historical mission for "Holy Russia" and for Moscow as the "Third Rome"). And this means that Ling does not see or does not wish to see the fact that the ideological climate in our country has undergone the most profound qualitative changes during the years of Soviet power. It must also be noted that manipulations with a far-fetched Russian Messianism represent, in essence, an unworthy attempt to oppose the Russian people to the other nations of our country, insofar as "the Russian Messianic spirit" is allegedly being imposed upon them by the "Soviet cult."

It is not impossible that shrugging their shoulders in perplexity, some of my readers will ask in cases like these: but is it worthwhile examining such nonsense? Let us recall Lenin's words: "'To simply close one's eyes' not only to bourgeois science, but even to the most absurd teachings right up to extreme obscurantism inclusive is, of course, unquestionably harmful. . . ."\*

It is noteworthy, however, that some foreign clerical ideologists are not only spreading about the anti-Soviet myth regarding the "revival of the Russian religious and national spirit," but are already giving practical recommendations on this score, making themselves like the one who divides up the hide of a still-alive bear.

Why is it that the clerics have suddenly begun to engage in, so to speak, the

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\*V. I. Lenin, "Complete Works," Vol 3, p 636.

international education of the Russian Orthodox Church? This is probably being done because the Vatican, in pursuing its policy of ecumenism and of uniting Christians under the leadership of the Roman Pontificate, is trying to protect various non-Catholic churches from slipping onto the path of national isolationism.

While the clerical anti-Soviet activists attempt in every way to cause tensions among peoples with different beliefs, it would seem that the same could not be done on a religious ground in relation to peoples of the same belief which in the past had almost unanimously professed Orthodoxy. But the West German anti-communist L. Schlegel has succeeded in finding a pretext with which to attempt to drive a wedge, for example, between the Moldavians and the Russians. He began discoursing on the pages of the Munich journal POLITISCHE STUDIEN (No. 230, 1976) about infringements of the national interests of Moldavians who are allegedly being subjected to Russification, which, as we shall see, is giving no rest not only to him alone. But the patriarch of Moscow, he says, is conducting a Russifying line even more inflexibly than the state. As a result, the uninvited guardian of the Moldavian peoples complains, the latter has no religious periodical publications in the native language, in the same way that it does not have its own, autocephalic Orthodox Church.

But the anti-Sovietists cannot understand that the true spiritual needs of Moldavians are being satisfied not at all by instituting a "national church" and by the publication of religious journals, but by the development of a progressive national culture which has achieved an unprecedented flowering precisely during the years of Soviet power and thanks to it. Schlegel does not mention that neither in the feudal Principedom nor in pre-revolutionary Bessarabia was there a Moldavian autocephalic Orthodox Church. And if it did not exist during the pre-Soviet period, it is incomprehensible why it should appear during the Soviet epoch.

If our enemies see even in Orthodoxy a means of disuniting "orthodox peoples," then how much more are they betting on the previous antagonism between Orthodoxy and Catholicism.

By stating on the pages of the Spanish journal REVISTA DE POLITICA INTERNACIONAL (No. 159, 1978) that "Lithuania is the only fully Catholic country which is subject to the regime in Moscow," the well-known "Sovietologist" in anti-communist circles, Professor S. Glekhadura of Madrid University has with one broad sweep made literally all Lithuanians into Catholics and has depicted a fully equal union republic as a "captive of Moscow." In Lithuania, he assures us, not only does the performance of the Catholic rites but also the "observance of national and local customs comprise a grave violation of law, if not a crime against the regime." All that remains is to assume that Glekhadura knows nothing even about the famous holidays of song in the Soviet Baltic Republics which have a vivid national character and which are highly valued everywhere in our country, and that he does not even suspect the existence of the celebrated "Liyetuva" Ensemble which has been indefatigably developing the best traditions of Lithuanian national culture and in no way, as this anti-

Sovietist asserts, comes into grave conflict with the criminal code. But he who does not know the subject about which he intends to write does not have the right to take up a pen.

The same "persecution" of Catholics in the USSR is repeatedly stated by Helene Carriere d'Encausse in her book, much advertised in the West, which was published in 1978 in Paris. She also holds the opinion that every Lithuanian is a Catholic. It is appropriate to ask here: would not d'Ankoss nevertheless agree to make an exception for at least the Lithuanian scholar specialists in the field of scientific atheism and for atheist lectures of Lithuanian nationality?

With the churches, she beats the alarm, things are not good: in the middle 1970s in Lithuania, according to her, there were 628 of them, but in only 554 did priests serve. And this, you see, is very bad: as long as every last church does not possess a pastor, we have an indisputable piece of evidence of the fact that (I quote word for word) "from now on the Lithuanian Catholic Church is in an especially dramatic situation."

Here, it seems to us, Madame d'Encausse is stepping onto thin ice. For in her homeland also, in France, the Church is also coming up against a clear decrease in the number of believers and in an acute shortage of clergymen: 22,000 of the 38,000 Catholic parishes in France do not have their own cure. But in Soviet Lithuania almost 90 percent of the churches are provided with priests. True, the data on France has been taken from the Paris journal TEMOIGNAGES CHRETIENS (No. 1815, 1979), and this publication is a left Catholic one, and perhaps that is why it does not suit Madame d'Encausse. In that case, let her go to the completely "reliable" right-wing clerical ICI (No. 563, 1981) where it is said that in French villages believers frequently comprise only a small handful of people, while so few cures have remained in rural areas that each of them services 6, 8, 10, and even more parishes. It also has to be considered that Lithuania is a socialist republic, and, as is known, it is the socialist system that undermines the social roots of religion and leads to its gradual dying out.

Some might object: France is not typical here: anti-clerical traditions are more powerful there than in other Western states. Well, let us turn to Spain which has always been regarded as a bulwark of Catholicism. According to the Madrid bourgeois weekly LOS DOMINGOS DE ABC (No. 719, 1982), within the life of a single generation Spanish society has undergone such a profound secularization that the country today, in essence, has ceased to be a Catholic one, and the Church is losing its influence over everyday life.

But while bourgeois writers write calmly or, in extreme cases, with a quiet sadness about the decline of religiousness in the West, this sadness is replaced by violent indignation as soon as it is a matter of similar processes in the Soviet Union. Special emphasis should be given to the fact that in the reports on crisis phenomena in the confessional sphere of the capitalist countries there are practically no complaints that this is threatening Frenchmen, Spaniards, and so forth with a loss of their national originality and culture.

But, then, there is no shortage of such lamentations when it is a matter of Russians, Lithuanians, Moldavians, Uzbeks, and other peoples of the USSR.

In an inseparable connection with the "defense" of Catholics in the Soviet Union ideological diversions are being carried out aimed at the galvanization of the Uniate Church which dissolved itself in 1946. Even some anti-Soviet foreign orthodox theologians have been critical of the letter by John-Paul II to Cardinal I. Slipoy who has declared himself to be the head of that pro-fascist religious organization which has sunk into oblivion in the Ukraine. They even reproach the Pope for not having used the word "Russia" a single time, replacing it with the word "Rus'," letting it be understood in this way that the Ukraine is its natural heir (ICI, No. 564, 1981). Thus, John-Paul II has not only gone so far as to artificially oppose the Ukrainian people to the Russian and Belorussian peoples, but also to "abolish" the ethnic and historical roots of the latter two, "excommunicating" them as it were from Kievan Rus'--the cradle of all three fraternal peoples.

In the violently anti-Soviet clerical collection "Marxism and Religion in Eastern Europe" (Holland, 1976) our country is "exposed in that during the struggle against Ukrainian nationalism "Ukrainian Catholics," that is, Uniates, were allegedly forcibly converted to Orthodoxy. The writers of the book also refer sympathetically to their leaders, including the former Archbishop I. Slipoy who at one time suffered a deserved punishment for cooperation with the Nazis. Defense is also taken up for the "Pokutniki" as the "most radical group of Ukrainian Catholics who profess a Messianic faith in the rebirth of the Ukraine." Consequently, in their attempts to stimulate nationalistic feelings clerical anti-Soviet activists are not above making use of the extreme religious fanatics who are members of this numerically insignificant extremist grouping.\*

In addition, one of the authors of the collection, the not-unknown Bogdan Bachurkiv, gives special praise to the foreign radio stations which broadcast to the Soviet Union, regarding ideological diversionists as the very best helpers of religious "dissidence" in the USSR. Incidentally, the American journal PROBLEMS OF COMMUNISM (January-February 1980) expresses itself in the same spirit when, in holding forth on the "protection" of the rights of non-Russian nations and peoples, it takes note of the especial role which is played in it by Western radio stations.

Protestantism is used somewhat more rarely to incite nationalistic feelings. Madame d'Ankoss, for example, extols Baptism for its "improbable and fantastic will to spiritual emancipation from the regime," but she regards it as a "trans-national religion" which is not only not capable of strengthening national feelings but, on the contrary, leads to a weakening of them. In other words, Baptism is good in every way--its "opposition potential" with respect to Soviet power is "impressive,"--but it is of no use for implanting nationalistic pre-

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\*For more details about the "Pokutniki" see: M. Kosiv, "The Pokutniki--Who Are They?" NAUKA I RELIGIYA, No 8, 1975.

judices. It is such prejudices that d'Encausse has in mind, for, of course, it is not the healthy national feelings of the people of the USSR and not the legitimate national pride of any of them which is approved by her and by the carriers of bourgeois clerical reaction like her.

Madame d'Ankoss states the same reservations with respect to the Lutheran Church in Latvia whose possibilities, she writes, are limited insofar as its inhabitants comprise not more than one-tenth of the republic's population. Nevertheless, the anti-Soviet activist comments, the effectiveness of atheistic propaganda in the Latvian SSR is doubtful, and the Lutherans are also worrying the authorities. D'Encausse does not back up these arbitrary theses with any proof, and for this reason there is no sense in discussing them here. Let her better begin a polemic with the Jesuit journal AMERIKA (No. 4, 1980) which comes to the conclusion that "anti-religious propaganda has been effective" in Latvia.

In her ideological speculations Madame d'Encausse even attempts to play up the confessional heterogeneity of believers in the Soviet Baltic republics. In Estonia and Lithuania, for example, she says, the Orthodox Church is in a relatively privileged position, and the fact that some Estonians profess Orthodoxy brings them close to the Russians, as if promoting the fractioning of the Estonian people. The Higher Theological Courses of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Latvia and Estonia, she continues, practically meet the need for pastors, while the Catholic seminary in Kaunas is "being squeezed," and so forth, and so forth. This kind of "differentiated approach" to the various religious organizations does not correspond to actual reality, but it is in complete agreement with the endeavour of clerical anti-communist circles to sow the seeds of discord among Soviet people.

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## NATIONAL

### LOCAL PAPER'S HANDLING OF NATIONALITY QUESTION SURVEYED

Baku VYSHKA in Russian 18 Nov 82 p 3

[Article by V. Karin critiquing the paper "Kommunist Sumgait," entitled: "Ideological Work: The Theme of Internationalism in the City Paper: Paths of Friendship"]

[Text] The workers city of Sumgait, where representatives of more than 80 nations and nationalities of our Homeland live and work, has today become the personification of Leninist friendship and brotherhood of the Soviet people, and of true internationalism. They are greeting, as is the entire Soviet people, the glorious jubilee 60th anniversary of the formation of the USSR, as a single family, closely united around their own Communist Party. And each knows that uniting in this single union multiplies their strength and speeds social-economic development.

The theme of the indestructible friendship of nations and of international ties of the workers of Komsomol'sk-na-Kaspii today has a leading place in the pages of the city paper, "Communist of Sumgait." The paper purposefully and consistently elucidates this theme in many aspects, and strives to cover it in all its many planes.

Various genres are used for this, and varied forms of presenting materials are practiced. These include thematic pages about the diligent labor of the workers of Sumgait enterprises, who forge close ties of friendship with workers of many of the country's cities; articles about the visits of delegations from brother cities in Sumgait; and reporting on holidays and friendship evenings. In all these materials, despite their variety, one most important thrust is defined, and one basic thought is traced: that today issues of further strengthening the friendship and unity of the Soviet people, and solidifying feelings of internationalism and international ties are taking on extreme significance.

The paper "Communist of Sumgait" has a definite system for publishing materials on the theme of friendship between nations. It is centred around the intense labor weeks of the current jubilee year. They have become distinctive landmarks of a special Sumgait calendar which the city uses in preparing to greet the 60th anniversary of the formation of the USSR. Many of these intense labor weeks, which are dedicated to one or another union republic, are marked by the beginning of new friendly ties by the Sumgait residents. Envoys of

Latvia and Lithuania, Georgia and Moldavia, Kazakhstan, and the RSFSR have visited the city. Such articles as "Holiday of Brotherhood," "A Friendly Handclasp," "Work in the Name of Friendship," "Hand in Hand," "A Valuable Creation," and many others have been dedicated to these meetings.

The well thought out thematic articles and pages entitled "Our Strength is in Leninist Friendship and Brotherhood," and "When One Becomes a Hero," found on the pages of "Communist of Sumgait," attract attention. They discuss socialist competition between enterprises of Sumgait and brother cities. The articles and notes of R Bedirov and A Yaitskiy on the relationships between leaders of the Sumgait piperollers and the Kherson shipbuilders are interesting and substantive, as are those of F Dzhafarov and Zh Dzhaililov on fusing relationships with steelworkers from Rustavy and Nikopol'. The lengthy thematic spread published at the end of April, entitled "I Am All Yours, Forever Among Your Sons, Azerbaijan, Azerbaijan!", narrates the fortunes of people who have come here from various parts of the country, and have formed their good fortune in multinational Komsomol'sk-na-Kaspii.

Friendly ties formed over many years have firmly brought together the workers of Sumgait and the metallurgists of Rustavy. The articles entitled "The City from Chronicles," and "Gamardzhoba, Sakartvelo!." ["Hello, Georgia"] which recount the working cooperation among metallurgists, builders and pipe rollers, are dedicated to the theme of friendship of these cities.

In looking through issues of "Communist of Sumgait," one finds analytical materials which profoundly disclose the friendships among related enterprises--between the Kishinev TETs and the Sumgait TETs-2, and between the Taganrog Metallurgical Factory and the Azerbaijan Pipe Factory. The short reports concerning the fact that Sumgait workers had concluded agreements on competition and established new production ties with enterprises in Daugavpils, Cherkass, Kirovakan, Tiraspol' and many other cities of the country are no less eloquent.

The paper's editors should also be given credit for devoting considerable space to showing new forms of work, related to the decree of the Central Committee Azerbaijan CP CC on ideological-moral education. The materials, "A Day and A Whole Life," and "Live in Joy!", about the holidays for friendship of nations, which took place in the 5th and 9th microdistricts of Sumgait, were interesting. The journalists found a successful way of showing the moving essence of these simple but heartwarming holidays in honor of family dynasties, participants in major construction projects, and meetings with representatives of fraternal republics, which take place in the almost home-like surroundings of the housing area.

And of course almost each issue of the paper contains materials devoted to the course of competition in honor of the 60th anniversary of the formation of the USSR. This theme is being sufficiently widely elucidated. All of this requires a great deal of creative output from the jouranalists.

However, in fairness it is necessary to point out that not all materials in the paper are of equal value. Annoying shortcomings also occur. For example, at the end of January a selection of articles was included from enterprises



of the fraternal cities--Sumgait, Rustavy, Kirovakan and Cherkass--under the general heading, "Dear Lenin, Dear Friendship." These selections have the appearance of uncoordinated reports with no unifying theme.

One would wish also that "Communist of Sumgait" would have more expressive photographic illustrations, and that the photographic competitions would be resumed, as they were a good tradition of the paper in preparing for important dates.

The editors of "Communist of Sumgait" are carrying out important work in bringing to light the themes of friendship between nations, internationalism, and the brotherhood of the Soviet people. Hopefully, they will continue thus in the future as well, and will extensively and thoroughly develop this important theme.

9069

CSO: 1800/320

## NATIONAL

### HISTORICAL MONUMENTS SOCIETY CRITICIZED FOR FINANCIAL IRREGULARITIES

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Dec 82 p 2

[Article by V. Kostin under rubric "At a Session of the USSR Committee of People's Control: Serious Shortcomings in the Economic and Financial Activity of the All-Russian Society for the Protection of Monuments of History and Culture": "Passes Around the Cashboxes"]

[Text] This society, which was organized in 1966, in conformity with its charter, has been called upon to propagandize the monuments of history and culture, to attract broad segments of the public in active participation to protect them, and to cooperate with state agencies in this work. The society's popularity is attested to by the fact that it has 14.7 million individual and 48,000 collective members. Until recently five production enterprises were in operation, producing annually 4 million rubles worth of various output, as well as a restoration workshop and store.

As for the other aspect of the society's activities -- the economic and financial aspect -- it is worthy of the most acute criticism and dethronement. This is attested to by facts that were revealed during an inspection by workers in the people's control agencies and by coworkers of the Control and Auditing Administration of USSR Ministry of Finance.

"Annually," the inspections materials state, "almost 5 million rubles are collected from individual dues. However, the monitoring in this matter, practically speaking, is nonexistent. No lists of payment of membership dues have been introduced, stamps are not canceled, and sometimes they are not issued to society members in confirmation of payment. Many primary organizations, instead of transferring the dues by way of savings banks, turn over the collected amounts to the responsible secretaries of the rayon branches, which keep them for a prolonged period of time without any monitoring, at their personal disposal."

This, in its turn, leads to abuses. During an inspection it was discovered that the responsible secretary of the Oktyabr'skiy Rayon Branch of the society in Moscow, Comrade Yanyшева, had a shortage of membership dues for a total of 2000 rubles. The administrators of the city branch of the society, satisfied that the money was returned, limited themselves only to imposing a disciplinary fine upon the culprit.

They say that the farther you go into the woods, the more firewood you find. And that's how it is with the work of the society. It turned out that at many enterprises and institutions there are no primary organizations of the society. Out of 548 inspected collective members in Moscow, 223 do not have primary organizations. And let's not even discuss the fact that, in violation of the existing statutes, the dues are paid from various enterprise funds and even from budgetary funds. For example, the Tula Combine Plan paid the society during the past ten years 19,000 rubles from the fund for social and cultural measures and housing construction. The Moloko Production Association in Moscow pays 500 rubles of annual dues from the production costs.

The society's administrators know about the illegality of this practice, but they use it broadly to supplement the accumulations that are already considerable. As of 1 July 1982 the society's balance of funds exceeded 21 million rubles.

Here is another completely improbable fact. The maintenance of the apparatus of the society's Central Council and its local branches requires the expenditure of 8 times more funds than the amount required to propagandize among the public the knowledge of the monuments of history and culture.

According to data provided by the Central Council, its primary organizations conduct an average of three or four lectures and one or two excursions a year. However, an inspection in the rayon branches did not confirm that information. The absolute majority of the lectures are conducted through the Znaniye Society.

The inspection revealed crude violations also in the use of the wage fund for the supernumerary staff. It is partially expended to pay the permanent coworkers, and also private individuals, in exchange for work which is supposed to be carried out through state organizations.

The administrators of the society's Central Council, using their official position, expended, for the purpose of paying bonuses to the workers in their apparatus, funds from organizations subordinate to it. For example, on orders from Comrade Ivanov, in 1980, 1,800 rubles were illegally used for that purpose, with the money being drawn from the bonus fund of the Russkiy Suvenir Combine in Moscow. Last year, on authorization from the deputy chairman of the presidium of the Central Council, Comrade Tolmachev, money from the fund of the Jewelry-Lapidary Plant in Perm was expended for this purpose, to a total of 800 rubles, including 200 rubles each paid to the chief accountant, Comrade Kolemasova and the chief of the Planning and Finance Department, Comrade Chekulayeva, which amounts were returned by them in the course of the inspection.

At the Russkiy Suvenir Combine in Moscow during a two-year period, as a result of various unjustified differentials added onto wages and the excessive number of billets in the administrative apparatus, 99,000 rubles were paid out. Here too unjustified bonuses were paid to the administrative workers, including to the combine director, Comrade Fonarev. The combine squandered materials that were strictly subject to funding regulations.

The society's Central Council violates the existing procedure for transferring to the republic's budgetary income 25 percent of the reduction of the amount of money

for bonuses. During a four-year period, for that reason, the state budget failed to receive 362,700 rubles. During the inspection period alone, that amount was transferred to the republic budget.

Summing up what has been stated, one can state outright that the serious shortcomings and abuses that were revealed by the inspection were the result of the unsatisfactory management by the Central Council of the society's branches and its subordinate enterprises, and the result of a lack of the proper monitoring of the expenditure of the monetary funds and the nonfulfillment of the basic tasks defined by the charter.

For having committed crude violations of the established procedure for the payment of bonuses to workers in the apparatus of the administration, for padding the volumes of unfulfilled operations in the state reports, and also for having displayed absence of control in the expenditure of public funds, the First Deputy Chairman of the presidium of the Central Council of the All-Russian Society for the Protection of Monuments of History and Culture, Comrade Ivanov, and Deputy Chairman, Comrade Tolmachev, have been given a strict reprimand by the USSR Committee of People's Control. In partial compensation for the material losses incurred by the state, both of them have been ordered to make payment in the amount of three months salary. A similar order has been applied to the director of the Russkiy Suvenir Combine in Moscow, Comrade Fonarev.

5075

CSO: 1800/450

## NATIONAL

### GENERATIONAL CHANGE IN OBLAST PARTY COMMITTEES SUBJECT OF NEW NOVEL

Moscow MOSKVA in Russian No 11, Nov 82 pp 201-203

[Review by Nikolay Fed' of book "Gatov. Roman. Kniga vtoraya" [Gatov. A Novel. Book Two] by Pavel Stepovoy, Sovremennik, Moscow, 1981, 367 pages, price 1.60 rubles: "A Novel About an Oblast Committee Secretary]

[Text] One of the most vital and rather complex topics of Soviet literature is the demonstration of the active figure of our society -- the party worker. The depiction of the sphere of party work attracts the attention of many cultural figures. We might recall theatrical plays, motion pictures, and literary work, and among them P. Stepovoy's novel about the first secretary of an oblast party committee -- "Gatov" (book one was published in 1978).

We become acquainted with the hero of the work in the very beginning of the narrative. Gatov has been urgently called to Moscow. In one of the eastern oblasts of the country, large-scale illegal schemes involving speculators and other shady individuals have been discovered and, as a consequence of his shortsightedness and his loss of vigilance, first secretary of the oblast committee, Smorodinov, has been removed from that assignment and the person recommended by the Central Committee to replace him is Gatov.

From the very first days in his new activities, Gatov encounters difficulties. The unhealthy aspects of Smorodinov's dealings let themselves be known not only in the oblast's economic indicators. They are also alive in people, primarily in Gurt'yev, the chairman of the oblast executive committee. Gurt'yev has also had a personal enmity toward Gatov. After Smorodinov's fall he, in a way that was somehow unnoticeable for himself, began to show up in the place that had been freed, and little by little had become accustomed to the idea that he would occupy the position of first secretary. Then he had become embittered and could not become reconciled in any way with what had happened. However, that was not the main reason for the aggravation of the already cool relations between Gatov and Gurt'yev. The fact of the matter was that Gurt'yev had lost his ability to look soberly at reality. He was accustomed to operating by fiat and was guided by long-since obsolete ideas about the style of working with people. Rather tense relations also developed between Gatov and the oblast committee secretary for propaganda, Aulov, with department chief Tomin. . .

What Smorodinovism actually was in practice can be easily understood from the words of Smorodinov himself. Once Gatov invited the former first secretary of

the oblast committee to visit him, in order in some way to support and encourage him, and to offer him a new job. Being of a well-wishing and frank nature, Gatov asked Smorodinov to share with him the way in which he had won that authority from people, because at one time he had enjoyed a certain authority. That which Gatov heard surprised him. "I don't like your methods," Smorodinov said. "They tell me that you slurp cabbage soup from the same bowl with the working guys. . . . Are you trying to be some kind of graybeard? Why? . . . Well, they're obliged to listen to you, because you're the First! . . . My principle is distance. . . . I don't allow anyone to violate that distance. I don't even allow my second to do it. I never allowed him to get closer than half a desk length from me. And the others had to stay even farther away. I'm here," he said, pointing to its armchair behind the desk, "and they're there, on the other side. For me that was -- how can I put it? -- the same as a militarized zone. The desk was my base point, my foxhole. . . . Everyone has to understand that you stand 'above.' They are they! And you are you! Otherwise there will be no leadership. Everyone is the creator of his own popularity!" We already know how Smorodinov's leadership ended. Step by step we are convinced by the actions and thoughts of Gatov, to which this mechanical, soulless, and therefore antiparty "style" of administration by the Smorodinov types is alien and, in essence, hostile.

It may be for that reason that, throughout the entire work, Gatov persistently returns mentally to such questions as, "What is good?", "How can one ease people's life and labor?", "What must a party worker be like?", "Why is a person drawn to nature?" While still in Moscow, before his new assignment, Gatov realized that he could not be goody-goody in some kind of general way, that the large amount of power had been given to us not so that we can go around lisping about some kind of abstract humanitarianism, thus evoking enraptured responses from our enemies and all kinds of petty crooks. . . . His rich personal experience and his observations on the life and fates of people lead the oblast committee secretary to the conclusion that no good exists outside of time, environment, or circumstances. Good is recognized and manifest itself not by contemplation, but by action. Gatov's concept of good is embodied in the daily job of eradicating Smorodinovism, in the incessant desire to ease people's lives. And that is a struggle, the overcoming of obstacles, the search for the new. Gatov, as we see him in the novel, is constantly in action. His mind jumps from one problem to another. It doesn't stop working for an instant. Is it not for that reason that the oblast committee secretary is depicted not as some kind of smiling good-hearted soul, but, rather, as a strict, concentrated person, who is even rather dry and who, in complicated situations, sometimes, for some split second, loses his self-control, but nevertheless is always a just, well-wishing, and well-principled person?

For all his sincerity and openness, Gatov is a large-scale figure of a manager, a person with a large amount of knowledge, a person of duty and responsibility -- responsibility toward the party which has entrusted this high position to him, responsibility toward the nation that he serves faithfully and to the time in which he lives. It is precisely time that puts people in their various places, and therefore man corresponds to the era. Back in the far reaches of time, under the concrete historical conditions, there is a maturation of the embryos of the future, which are capable, under favorable conditions, of sending out strong shoots. But there also exist backward elements (Smorodinov, Zotov, Gurt'yev, Kostrov, Tomin) that come into conflict with the advanced forces (Gatov, Luchin, Artem'yev).

True, a person who does not agree with Gatov is the pseudoscientist and philosopher Kostrov, who feels that history is no Deribasovskaya Ulitsa. It cannot proceed ahead without any sharp turns and it doesn't like to wait. Therefore, according to Kostrov, it is necessary to run counter to everything in order to save one's career. But that was the struggle waged by carriers of opposing ideological convictions. Kostrovism exists for and about itself. Kostrov is depicted as a lively and tenacious person, as a burdock, but, when engaged in polemics with Kostrov and defending the party's purity, Gatov reveals his essence as a demagogue and leech, since Kostrovism as a social phenomenon is dangerous and something against which one must wage a decisive struggle: "There's nothing easier than engaging in verbal exercises." Gatov held his breath. "Because we had principles and still have them. We had a policy and still do! Policy is the fruit of the entire party's mind. But policy has methods. And they are copied. Copied in different ways. It is like a lever to which many hands are stretched. Obviously, one hand can be more skillful than the others. And people recognize this. Authority is born. . . There exists a fine line in authority, since, from time immemorial, there has been a rather prosaic philosophical category -- moderation! It is that factor, that sense of moderation in our recognition of the individual, that determines the fate of authority. And this moderation, this profoundly prosaic essence, is needed in everything. It is needed in the affirmation of authority, in respect for it, and in criticism of it. And therefore I advise Comrade Kostrov: take two books -- your own book, the verbose commentary for which you received a prize -- and that source which you so thoroughly reveal, and compare them if only by volume. And you will see to what extent you have lost the sense of moderation in. . ." Gatov hesitated for a moment and then firmly concluded, "In glorifying the individual. And now take the dictionary of the Russian language and you will be convinced what the word "glorification" means. Then I shall ask you, Comrade Kostrov, 'When have you ever been sincere?'"

Gatov always was a consistent Leninist -- both in the position of first secretary of the party's oblast committee, and later, when, having recovered from an illness, he went into instructor work, and finally in his job as deputy chairman of a Party Control Committee. In the article "Living Among People," PRAVDA placed a positive evaluation on Pavel Stepovoy's novel "Gatov," and wrote that the questions that were raised in the work "are of the most vital importance." And it went on to say, "In the image of Gatov the author succeeded in showing the features of an experience party administrator, a genuinely positive hero" (PRAVDA, 16 May 1979).

There is a broad subject-matter range in Pavel Stepovoy's book. The author is well acquainted with, and has a deep respect for the labor performed by the farmer, the worker, the intellectual, and therefore he convincingly depicts the plant shop, the kolkhoz field, the lecture hall in the institute -- everywhere that a major party worker can find himself. The novel, which is devoted to one of the complicated periods in the life of Soviet society (1950 and the beginning of the 1960's), studies phenomena and tendencies that determined the further development of socialism, and the reinforcement of humanitarian principles and of a new work style for the party and state apparatus. That is a difficult and very important topic.

A book that a person cannot read without becoming excited is an interesting book. But a book that not only excites the reader, but also gets the reader's mind agitated, that causes him to think is one that kind of good and necessary book that is encountered not too frequently. And Pavel Stepovoy's novel "Gatov" is that kind of book.

NATIONAL

# GOSPLAN CHIEF WARNS AGAINST DRAMATIZING DEMOGRAPHIC SITUATION

Moscow OGONEK in Russian No 45, 6 Nov 82 pp 4-7

[Interview with N K Baybakov, deputy chairman, USSR Council of Ministers, USSR GOSPLAN, chairman by unidentified "Ogonek" editor, date and place not specified, in article: "In a United and Multinational Family"]

[Excerpt] [Question] With respect to our country's complicated demographic situation, apparently the problem of the correct regional distribution of labor resources is especially acute. How is this problem being resolved?

[Answer] Yes, the situation is truly complex, but it should not be dramatized. First of all I must mention that the demographic situation is taking shape differently in various sections of the country. A decline in the growth of the working population is really taking place in the European part of the USSR, in Siberia, and in the Far East. At the same time, high tempos of working age population growth are continuing in the Central Asian republics, the Transcaucasus, and in the southern oblasts of the Kazakh SSR. With respect to this, the problem of the correct regional distribution of labor resources is being resolved in a differentiated manner.

For example, new construction is decreasing significantly in the European part of the country. Except for the sphere of services, capital investments are aimed primarily at reconstruction and technical re-equipping of operational enterprises. In these areas, almost the entire growth of industrial and agricultural production, as well as the volume of transportation, construction, and assembly is being realized via increasing labor productivity.

In Siberia and the Far East the main task is increasing the work force. Here new cadres and highly productive techniques are needed. Priority is being given to increasing wages, and various incentives are being introduced. Priority growth in construction of living areas and cultural and welfare facilities in these regions is provided for in the 1981-1985 Plan.

In Central Asia, the Transcaucasus and the Kazakh SSR, the 11th Five-Year Plan is implementing more widespread construction of new, primarily small enterprises, and branches of major enterprises and combines. This will permit involving more of the working population in social production.



The professional training of youth of local nationalities in industry and construction is significantly expanding. Other republics are rendering more and more tangible assistance to Central Asia in developing qualified national cadres. I would also like to note that, for Central Asia, the Transcaucasus, and the southern oblasts of Kazakhstan, where reserves of the labor force are in rural areas, the problem of increasing the mobility of the population, especially of the youth, is very acute. A great deal of educational work is required here. The accomplishments of youth detachments are wonderful. They have come to the Baykal-Amur Magistral (BAM) from all union republics, have helped to develop oil and gas deposits of western Siberia, and to create a powerful agricultural base in non chernozem areas.

Speaking in Tashkent at the ceremony dedicated to awarding the Uzbek SSR the Order of Lenin, Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev stated: "...It is necessary to support in every possible way the desire of your republic's youth to participate personally in the most monumental construction projects of our age--developing the Tyumen' oil and gas reserves, and constructing the BAM. This, comrades, is a remarkable school of civil and international education.... Internationalism under the conditions of our multinational country today is first of all the honest, conscientious, vigorous labor of all nations of the country for the common good."

The steady implementation of this principle of the party's nationality policy is the guarantee of our successes in economics and in social and cultural construction.

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NATIONAL

## EDUCATIONAL FUNCTION OF TV DOCUMENTARIES ON RURAL LIFE DESCRIBED

Moscow SOVETSKAYA KUL'TURA in Russian 17 Dec 82 p 4

[Article Gennadiy Lisichkin under rubric "They Worked on the Broadcast": "The Circle of Rural Cares"]

[Text] Every book, every newspaper item, every movie has its own reader or viewer, who is not a random one. In the very name of the daily TV program, "Rural Hour," the intended viewer is already indicated. Therefore it is not by chance that the discussion on that program is carried out without any allowances for the uninitiated viewer, who might not understand the term being used or might not be able to become rapidly aware of the problem that has been presented on the screen.

Not all the programs presented in the series have been successful. They include some which, putting it bluntly, were boring to watch. But when the viewer watches a broadcast that has been prepared by the group headed by TV commentator and director Yuriy Chernichenko, there can be no doubt about it: it won't be boring.

Really, turn your attention to the conflict that proved to be in the center of attention of the TV documentary based on a scenario by Yu. Chernichenko, "The Plan and Milkmaid Vera," a film which continued and summarized that search which was begun in the "Rural Hour" broadcasts. The person mentioned is a completely real person -- Vera Sychevich, a milkmaid on the 40 Let Kazakhstana Sovkhoz. A conscientious worker, she got her animals to produce more milk than many of the other milkmaids did, and in recognition of that she was given all kinds of awards -- an Order, certificates, bonuses, and all other signs of attention. "Well, why not?", the viewer might think as he follows the events on the screen. Better labor must always be rewarded by us, both psychologically and materially. However, after becoming one of the advanced workers, Vera received for the next year a greatly increased plan for milk production. And the payment rates per liter produced were correspondingly reduced, although she still milked the same cows that she had milked the previous year. As a result, the way that Vera added up the figures, for "nonconcealment" of the reserves, she was thus fined 500 rubles.

Who, then, is to blame for this attitude to the situation? The party calls upon people to increase the production of agricultural products, especially those from animal husbandry, and then a situation immediately develops in which a conscientious person such as Vera decides to quit. That question was taken up by Yu. Chernichenko and he patiently leads the viewer through the tremendous number of administrative levels which, apparently thinking about this question for the first time, decide to punish the perpetrator of the obviously ridiculous situation and to correct the situation hurriedly. However, it turns out that, actually, there isn't anyone to blame. You can't reach out and grab anyone by the collar, because it is not any one individual, specific official who is to blame, but, rather, "the principle of planning from the achieved level." And so the person who became the victim of this was milkmaid Vera. And she is not alone. The director of the sovkhos where Vera works also had the plan increased for the farm as a whole, that is, the farm had a reduction in the opportunity to increase the funds for developing it. The farm suffered because the rayon production plan was also adjusted in accordance with this principle. It is easy to understand that the oblast also is not to blame for what happened, inasmuch as the oblast plan also is based on the same considerations.

This is a serious problem, which affects a lot of people. It can be said that in this instance the milkmaid is simply a pseudonym, an example of the author's license to change the names, occupations, and places, while preserving the essence of the matter.

It seems to me that it is an action worthy of great credit to select a real-life conflict. True, in order to cope with all the deciphering of the reasons for it, one has to have a thorough knowledge of the subject and a large amount of living experience. Inasmuch as Yu. Chernichenko, as has been attested to by his broadcasts and movies, and his articles and books, possesses this set of qualities to a large degree, he can really "bite into" those complicated topics that he selects for collective study.

And yet, for a long period of time, Yu. Chernichenko, like many other people, did not know what capabilities and talents he possessed. He had trained to be a philologist, and after graduation from the University of Kishinev, he went to the virgin lands in the Altay in order to become a witness of and participant in one of the major events in our country's present-day history.

As a correspondent for a kray newspaper, Yu. Chernichenko traveled around to the kolkhozes and sovkhoses, observing and describing in his reports, with all the enthusiasm and astonishment of a young person, the beauty and difficulty in the life of the people on the virgin lands.

Later he began working at SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA. In the newspaper world, everyone is on view. And he had to penetrate even more deeply into that problem that he had immediately touched upon after graduation from the university, where, for completely natural reasons, he never even heard about crop rotations, or a "forage" cow, or a "business" piglet. But his time at the university and in the school of Russian literature was not wasted. Whatever he wrote his articles or essays about, and subsequently used as the topics for his TV broadcasts and films, the reader or viewer could always clearly discern the efficient intonation breaking through with

a great amount of emotional feeling, which is somehow especially Russian, deeply felt as part of one's professed creed, and the appeal directed at the land and its people. It is my observation that he himself likes to talk about his teachers -- about Tolstoy and Turgenev, about Saltykov-Shchedrin, Chekhov and Gleb Uspenskiy, who, in his opinion, were extremely well-informed about the rural way of life, labor, and its problems. He also treasures the rare artistic talent of the figures in Russian classic agronomy -- Timiryazev, Dokuchayev, Izmail'skiy -- who, as Chernichenko himself writes, strove for "that passion and beauty of speech, that imagery, in which the scientific value of the work is raised to a greater mathematical power by the journalist's gift."

The journalist's gift -- probably that is how one can also define the talent of Yu. Chernichenko himself. He is not simply a person who writes about agrarian matters, but, rather, he is a journalist who knows how to become deeply involved in the fates of his heroes, so that one can no longer discern the border that separates the person who writes and the person about whom he is writing.

I am glad that life has brought us together, so that we could work together for several years at PRAVDA. That was in the mid-1960's. The course had only just been taken to carry out a qualitatively new agrarian policy: now it was planned to obtain agricultural output not "at any price," not "come what may," but, rather, in such a way that the production of products would become simultaneously profitable to everyone -- to the state, to the kolkhoz or sovkhov, and to the peasant. That was a school of party journalism, the school that defines Yu. Chernichenko's further work as a whole.

The ability deeply and accurately to pose problems, to ask questions -- about potatoes, about the drought, about tomatoes, about chernozem -- and to link them with the affairs and the cares of the farmer who grows the grain and who raises his successors, the ability to reveal the indissoluble, palpitating connection that those cares have with the life of those who engage in exclusively urban, industrial affairs, and even those who, in general, are remote from production and have devoted themselves, for example, to art -- that ability, that talent, gives a universal appeal not only to Yu. Chernichenko's essays and documentary articles, but also to the television broadcasts, those strictly business-related and timely segments of the "Rural Hour" series.

And yet there is a paradox that, when you watch Yu. Chernichenko's TV broadcasts or documentary films, no matter how remote you may be from the problems of the modern countryside, you suddenly begin to sense your involvement in rural concerns. And whatever strictly specialized problems Chernichenko discusses on screen -- the Nechernozem reserves or the efficient use of water, the normalization of relations between Sel'khoztekhnika and the kolkhoz, or the peasant family's income -- he always begins at the beginning, with a simple statement of the situation. He begins, for example, with a discussion of how many ingredients it takes to make a good Moldavian borscht.

Take, for example, his TV film "Kolkhoz of Kolkhozes." In that film he tells about the Moldavian experience in interfarm cooperatives. Here, on principles of shared participation, everyone in what used to be called the *mir* [farm community] has animal-husbandry complexes, schools, and hospitals built for them by the

kolkhozes. A brigade leader for the Slobodzeya interfarm vegetable crop rotation, standing in a field that is strewn with thousands of tons of tomatoes, explains in approximately this manner the essence of the Moldavian version of production specialization, "Previously, every chairman conducted himself as his own boss. He would get whatever he could for his own farm. But now we have to think on a broader scale -- we have to think about the needs of all the farms in the rayon."

The TV camera shows what results were achieved by the republic by using that idea. It would seem that it couldn't be shown more obviously. But Chernichenko takes us to another part of the country -- to Belgorod Oblast. Here too the people do a lot of thinking and look for ways to carry out the course aimed at the industrialization and specialization of agriculture. Nikolay Alekseyevich Surkov, rayon committee secretary, tells the TV viewer that they have thoroughly studied the Moldavian version but one senses that not all of them consider it to be acceptable for their conditions.

Then the viewer is taken to Nikopol, where the interfarm cooperative system is also developing, but basically in the sphere of cultural and everyday matters, inasmuch as it is impossible, acting as individuals, to build a hospital or to put the maximum load on it. Concerns about pigs, cows, and crops in this instance remain entirely on the shoulders of each individual chairman.

Well, the discussion began with what seemed to be something simple -- how to make a real Moldavian borscht, but, in addition to cooking up a borscht, we have also started cooking up a discussion as to which version of specialization or of interfarm cooperatives is better or more effective.

Cinematic journalism also differs from a newsreel in that the pictures of life here are artfully combined into a single logical fabric, that expresses the author's credo, his understanding of various phenomena of life. One can speak about the importance of selecting the problem for the purpose of attracting a particular group of viewers, and about the advantages of the "intriguing" manner of presenting the material by contrasting various opinions on one and the same question. But, nevertheless, the most important thing is the position taken by the author, his own excitement. And it is not by chance that journalist Yu. Chernichenko almost always appears also in the frame as the director. And this independent role is completely successful for him, inasmuch as he himself -- as the viewer senses -- "suffers" from the problem that is being analyzed. True, his lack of indifference, the passion with which he undertakes the job at hand, sometimes leads to a situation in which he "plays into" that side that he likes most. But apparently that is inevitable when you cannot be indifferent to that which is happening around you.

5075

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## NATIONAL

### CENTRALIZATION, DECENTRALIZATION DEFINED FOR SOVIET NATIONALITY POLICY

Moscow VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS in Russian No 11, Nov 82 pp 52-65

[Article by E. V. Tadevosyan: "The USSR -- The Embodiment of the Leninist Principles of Proletarian, Socialist Internationalism"]

[Excerpts] The variety and flexibility of the forms of national and state construction being directed by the CPSU made it possible to encompass the entire multiplicity of the concrete historical conditions and national peculiarities of the life of dozens of nations and nationalities, and to create for each of them the optimal political and legal conditions for their successful development and their drawing closer together with all the country's peoples. It played a role of no small importance in consolidating the international unity of the Soviet society and state.

The internationalism of the socialist state system does not mean that it is without nationality. Under conditions of the socialist state system, with the correct Marxist-Leninist guidance of the process of the national and state construction on the part of the Communist Party, the international and national do not oppose one another, but, rather, are in harmonious interrelationship and interaction. The CPSU proceeds from the premise that internationalism invariably presupposes the taking into consideration of the particularly national, the specifically national, in the forms of the organization, functioning, and development of the socialist state system of the peoples of the USSR.

The Soviet national state system is socialist, genuinely internationalistic in content and nature, uniform with regard to its Soviet general political basis, and varied with regard to its forms, constituting the political power of the workers in areas where the nations and nationalities of the USSR live compactly. Of course, one should keep in mind that the internationalistic content is not without nationality, and that, at its very basis and with regard to its functions, roles, aims, and tasks, the Soviet national state system is internationalistic.

V. I. Lenin and the CPSU are given the historic credit for the scientific substantiation of the principles of democratic centralism and socialist federalism in Soviet national and state construction and the guidance of the practice of implementing them. V. I. Lenin revealed the organic interrelationship, the unity of these principles. As early as the process of developing the national program for the Bolshevik Party, V. I. Lenin indicated that the autonomy of the oblasts "does

not in any way contradict democratic centralism; on the contrary, it is only by means of the autonomy of the oblast in a large state that is variegated in its national composition that it is possible to carry out truly democratic centralism<sup>27</sup>. Subsequently, relying on the experience of the October Revolution, V. I. Lenin and the party made the conclusion that was exceptionally important for the fates of all the peoples in the country -- the conclusion that, under the conditions of the Soviet system, not only autonomy, but even federation not only does not contradict democratic centralism, but, on the contrary, serves as "the truest step to the most solid unification of the various nationalities of Russia into a single democratic centralized Soviet state"<sup>28</sup>.

The internationalism of the CPSU, its policy, was the chief condition for developing the optimal forms of Soviet federation and Soviet autonomy. Thus, during the period of the creation of the USSR, V. I. Lenin and the party succeeded in successfully resolving the very complicated task of finding "those state forms of union, that coorelation between the rights of the union-wide agencies and those of the republics which would guarantee to the greatest degree the success of the cause of unity"<sup>29</sup>. At all stages of socialist construction, the party guaranteed the correlation that was most efficient under the particular, specific domestic and foreign conditions, between the competencies of the union state system and the national state system of the republics, proceeding from the inseparability of centralism and democracy, from the inseparability of the interests of consolidating the international unity of the Soviet state and the free and complete development of each republic.

The most general tendency here consists in the development of a dual process: the intensification of centralization in questions of union-wide, international importance, with the simultaneous expansion of the rights enjoyed by the republics both in resolving timely, local, and national problems, and in carrying out union-wide tasks on their own territory. Something that is very telling in this regard is the resolution of the 16th VKP(b) Conference, in which it was stated that "the systematic alteration of the apparatus must proceed along the line of the decentralization of the time-responsive functions, with the simultaneous centralization of planning and administration in the basic questions. . ."<sup>30</sup>. The dialectics of centralism and democratism in Soviet state-national construction consist in that the increase in the role of and the improvement of the centralized leadership in the resolution of union-wide tasks are combined with the development of the active participation, initiative, and independence of the union republics, with the consolidation of their sovereignty; at the same time, the scientifically substantiated expansion of the rights enjoyed by the republics, the increasing of their guarantees, leads not to a weakening, but, rather, to the strengthening of the international unity as a union.

The carrying out, in organic unity, of the principles of democratic centralism and Soviet federalism is of especially great importance for guaranteeing the attentive consideration of and harmonious combination of the common interests of the entire USSR, the entire Soviet nation, and the specific interests of each nation or nationality, each republic, which has been and continues to be in the center of attention of the national policy of the CPSU. It makes it possible to wage a successful struggle against narrowly local interests and national narrowmindedness, a departmental attitude, and the bureaucratic ignoring of

national interests, a struggle for a genuinely party approach and internationalistic approach to the job at hand, when all the economic and social tasks are resolved first of all from nationwide positions with a consideration of the specific interests of each Soviet republic and all of them, as is especially important under present-day conditions.

The historic experience of creating and developing the world's first socialist multinational state convinces one that proletarian, socialist internationalism, embodied in the Leninist principles and forms of constructing the USSR, is the decisive basis of the great strength and invincible stability and unprecedented viability of the Soviet multinational state.

The chief guarantor of the successive implementation of these Leninist principles of socialist internationalism and, on that basis, the further steady reinforcement of the social, international, and ideological-political unity of Soviet society and the Soviet state was and continues to be the CPSU -- the party of internationalistic Leninists both with regard to its composition and structure, and with regard to its ideology, policy, and nature of its activity; the guiding and directing role of this party as the nucleus of the entire political system, and the state and social organizations of Soviet society. ". . . We must know and remember," V. I. Lenin wrote, "that the entire legal and factual constitution of the Soviet republic is constructed on the premise that the party corrects everything, it designates and constructs according to a single principle. . ."<sup>31</sup>. The CPSU, and its guiding role, are the highest embodiment of the internationalism of the political system of Soviet society.

The CPSU unites the advanced representatives of more than 100 nationalities in our country. Communist Party members of any nationalities, as members of a single party, in conformity with the Leninist internationalistic principles of its organizational structure, have identical rights and obligations and bear equal responsibility for the fates of the entire country. The unity of the CPSU is the chief cementing force of the Soviet multinational union state.

#### FOOTNOTES

27. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 25, p 71.

28. Ibid., Vol 36, p 151.

29. L. I. Brezhnev, "Leninskim kursom. Rechi i stat'i [On Lenin's Course: Speeches and Articles], Vol 4, Moscow, 1974, pp 46-47.

30. "KPSS v rezolyutsiyakh i resheniyakh. . ." [The CPSU in Resolutions and Decisions. . .], Vol 4, Moscow, 1970, p 230.

31. V. I. Lenin, op. cit., Vol 41, p 403.

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## NATIONAL

### TV, FILMS FOCUS ON LETTERS CAMPAIGN

Moscow ZHURNALIST in Russian No 10, Oct 82 pp 18-19

[Article by V. Nevskiy: "With Attention to Letters"]

[Text] "Thousands of Strong Threads" is the name a three-part television series that has been prepared by Leningrad Television (written and directed by A. Yurkov). It tells about the work with letters from workers which is being carried out by the party and Soviet agencies in Leningrad and Leningrad Oblast.

The first part, "With the Sense of Being an Owner," tells about letters as an important form through which Soviet citizens can manifest their social participation. The second part, "I Always Want to Help," tells about the practice of reacting to citizens' complaints and statements. Part 3, "Eyeball to Eyeball," summarizes the most effective experience in this work.

Using as an example the letters that were addressed after the 26th CPSU Congress to L. I. Brezhnev, the party committees, and the mass-information agencies, the author discusses the political culture of the Soviet man. Initiative, a creative search, a state approach to the job at hand are typical of many of the letters that were written by Leningraders. The TV camera observes how these qualities manifest themselves in the daily work of the authors of the letters, and these observations enrich the film with features of graphic journalism.

The responsible workers at the party and Soviet agencies discuss in detail in front of the camera how the Leningraders' suggestions are being implemented, and what is being done to eliminate the causes of the complaints and to assure that the questions that arise in everyday life are resolved in a time-responsive manner by the persons who are directly responsible for this.

For the sake of fairness it must be noted that the statements, which are not always attractive in form, predominate in quantity over the journalistic episodes. An unjustifiably small amount of discussion in the TV series deals with those authors of letters who inundate various organizations with unjustified complaints, drawing off a tremendous amount of time and effort for newer and newer considerations of questions that are completely obvious. These comments must be made primarily because the studio intends to continue the work on the topic, making it a regular feature.

The workers at Leningrad Television themselves make various kinds of use of the viewers' letters. On the basis of letters from the television viewers they prepare many of the broadcasts in the series "Rhythms of the Five-Year Plan," which tell about the rayons in the city or oblast. Letters form the basis of the satirical magazine "The Television Hedgehog," the "Show Window" and "Television Information Service" broadcasts, and others.

In June the television viewer saw "The Day of the Letter," the entire program of which was made up with the participation of the viewers and on the basis of their requests. The first experiment proved to be successful. And now the "Letter Days" will be prepared in turn by various editorial offices at the studio, once a quarter.

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## NATIONAL

### LIMITATIONS ON CRITICISM IN LOCAL PAPERS EXPLAINED

Moscow ZHURNALIST in Russian No 10, Oct 82 p 53

[Article by V. Stepanov: "Can a Rayon Newspaper Criticize Workers of the Rayon Executive Committee?"]

[Text] At our request, questions asked by colleagues are answered by consultant to the SOVETY NARODNYKH DEPUTATOV magazine, RSFSR Honored Jurist V. Stepanov.

Our newspaper published correspondence under the title "Let's Preserve Our Fauna." The correspondence cites instances of a predatory attitude toward the environment. At the end of it, the author writes, "One would think that it is time for the executive committee of the Rayon Soviet of People's Deputies to take specific steps with the aim of preserving the endangered fauna in our severe part of the country."

However, the workers at the executive committee of the Rayon Soviet of People's Deputies feel that the editorial office acted incorrectly when it printed this item and they give as the reason for their point of view the fact that the newspaper is an organ of the executive committee.

S. Shiroyan,  
Deputy Editor of the  
ARSHALUYS rayon newspaper,  
Georgian SSR

We printed an article concerning violations of the rules for using motor transportation, which, in particular, contained the statement, ". . . And for approximately two months the chief of the rayon agricultural administration Comrade Aushev, procurements inspector Comrade Pugoyev, and others have been driving around in their own official vehicles without license plates."

Soon after the newspaper appeared, Comrade Aushev lodged a complaint. "I should not be criticized," he stated, "inasmuch

as I am not only the chief of the rayon agricultural administration, but also the deputy chairman of the executive committee of the Rayon Soviet of People's Deputies. And the newspaper is an organ of the rayon executive committee."

My objections that no one is insured against criticism in the newspaper, including the deputy chairman of the rayon executive committee, did not convince Comrade Aushev. Moreover, his point of view was supported by the secretary of the rayon party committee, who literally said the following, "In essence the criticism is correct, but in form it is not. Comrade Aushev should not be criticized in a rayon newspaper."

Could you please tell me whether the newspaper has a right to criticize on its pages the administrative workers in the rayon executive committee.

I. Aksenov,  
section chief, editorial  
office of the ZNAMYA TRUDA  
newspaper,

Suzhenskiy Rayon, Chechen-Ingush  
ASSR

As one can see from the second letter, in Suzhenskiy Rayon, Chechen-Ingush ASSR, certain rayon administrators established their own "rules" that would attempt to prescribe who can be criticized on the pages of the local press and who cannot; who is, as it were, insured against criticism. Both these "rules" and their motivation are without substantiation.

The ZNAMYA TRUDA newspaper is the organ of a rayon committee of the CPSU and a rayon Soviet of People's Deputies. But the rayon executive committee is the executor and manager of the organ of the rayon Soviet as the representative organ of state authority and is directly accountable in all its activities to the Soviet. The rayon Soviet, at a session, elects the executive committee and, if need be, can change its composition. It also forms the departments and administrations of the executive committee, and approves their administrators, and removes them from their assignments.

Not a single party or governmental document or legal document that regulate either the work of the rayon newspapers or the activities of the executive committees of the rayon Soviets contains any prohibition against subjecting to justified criticism on the pages of those newspapers of individual workers in the apparatus of the executive committee for various violations of the law that have been committed by them, for various misdemeanors and incorrect actions, or for various shortcomings in the carrying out of their administrative functions. At the same time the driving of means of transportation without a license plate is a serious violation, the persons who are guilty of which are punished in conformity with the Ukase of the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, dated 19 June 1968, and entitled "The Intensification of Administrative Responsibility for the Violation of Traffic Rules on the Streets of Cities, Inhabited Points, and Roads, and the Rules for the Use of Means of Transportation." Therefore there

should have been a resolution of the question of punishing Comrade Aushev for the violation that he had committed, rather than of absolving him of responsibility.

As for the newspaper item mentioned in the first of the two letters, two concepts are being confused here: the workers in the apparatus of the executive committee, and the executive organ of the rayon Soviet. It would seem that the author of the letter should inquire about the rightfulness of criticizing individual workers of the executive committee, but the letter nevertheless mentions the executive committee of the rayon Soviet. The organ which the newspaper represents, unconditionally, should not be subject to criticism in it.

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## REGIONAL

### SPECULATION IN PLATINUM DESCRIBED

Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 21 Nov 82 p 4

[L. Markova report in the column "From the Courtroom": "The Crime Might Not Have Happened"]

[Text] Alma-Ata--It all began with... wire. Quite ordinary wire, at first sight. But those who came into contact with it at work knew of its unusual properties. The wire could withstand a temperature of 1,300 degrees. Only platinum--a metal which is valued higher than gold--possesses such rare qualities.

Thanks to its refractoriness, the wire was a component of special instrumentation--so-called thermocouples. They are usually used in metallurgical industry to determine the temperature in the melting furnaces.

Such thermocouples were also employed at the Karaganda Foundry. The temperature in the heating furnaces was gauged in the course of production operations with their help.

In time the instruments failed. They were replaced with new ones, and the old ones were written off. According to the rules, there should be strict accounting of the spent thermocouples, basically of the platinum wire preserved in them. But the foundry did not abide by these rules. The process of the writing off of the spent thermocouples was conducted formally. For a blind. For this reason everyone who handled the valuable metal treated it as he wished. More and more often it was carried home in the hope that it might suddenly come in useful for something.

And it did. There were smart operators prepared to buy up valuable wire embezzled from the enterprise. Nor were those who were not averse to getting rich on state property slow to appear. The excitement of gain gradually pulled into these criminal acts an increasingly large circle of people. The wire came to be taken not only from the spent instruments but also from those which were operational.

A picture of all that occurred has now been clearly traced before the court. This is how things were. V. Balygin, former mechanic of the instrumentation and automation shop of the Karaganda Foundry, began to buy up from his

colleagues stolen platinum wire. As it transpired, a relative from Alma-Ata, N. Gritsenko, had promised him a decent profit for this "service". From Gritsenko the wire passed at a somewhat higher price also to a relative--V. Nazarov. He, in turn, at a higher "tariff" still sold it to one V. Kholodkov, who had, to judge by everything, a wider marketing radius.

People who at first sight were entirely decent participated in the buying and selling transactions. For example, what, say, could there be in common between V. Nazarov and N. Gritsenko, employees of the republic and Alma-Ata Oblast sanitary epidemiologic stations, and a metal constituting foreign currency of our state? Both are biologists by profession. Both, if we believe the references submitted to the court, were enthusiastically involved in science, studying the flora and fauna of their native parts. They had been published in scientific publications. Gritsenko was preparing to defend his thesis. Successful heads of the family and people respected in their collectives. And suddenly.... This was really a surprise to everyone. Both were in the dock since for several years they had been buying and reselling a valuable metal--platinum wire--illegally obtained at the metallurgical enterprise.

The moral foundations of the fourth participant in this group--V. Kholodkov--collapsed long ago. A person without definite occupations and a devotee of having a good time at others' expense, he was ready to be of service to anyone as long as they paid well.

Incidentally, this trait was also clearly discerned in the characters of his friends--his accomplices in the case. Were, however, their resumes quite as impeccable as the references submitted to the court indicated? If we look a little more closely, we can spot serious flaws in these also. If only the following fact. Two years ago V. Nazarov, having suddenly changed his beloved profession of biologist, became a dental technician, without any special training. What prompted him to such a step? Was it not that same cupidity and thirst for gain? Nonetheless, none of his fellow employees or the people close to him paid any attention to this surprising behavior. He, however, was one step removed from the high road. Gritsenko, Balygin and Kholodkov also gradually descended together with him in the quest for dubious earnings.

That is why fate ultimately threw them together and sat them down alongside one another in the dock.

...And they now stand before the face of the law. They attempt to find justifications to somehow mitigate their guilt. But they do not find any. There cannot be any. The material collected in four volumes of the criminal proceedings testify that a crime was committed connected with the embezzlement of and speculation in a valuable metal.

Fortune was kind to them for several years, although could have turned aside at any moment. And each one felt this and experienced at the bottom of his heart a constant fear. But the power of money was stronger. It stubbornly drowned out the thoughts of the inevitability of punishment which arose from time to time.

But should only these four bear the responsibility for their actions? What about those who directly connived at the perpetration of this crime? Who even now are continuing to work in their jobs with a tranquil conscience, believing that they are honorably performing their duties. Honorably? Let us return for a minute to the start of the story. To that same plain-looking, but so costly platinum wire which was for several years taken away from the enterprise unhindered. I repeat: unhindered and with impunity. And it was not only Balygin who did this. Names were cited in the courtroom, and then certain workers of the enterprise who even now have direct access to instruments containing platinum wire were questioned. What is there to prevent them once again "disposing" of the valuable metal as they wish? After all, they have not incurred any punishment for what has been done.

If we ponder what has happened seriously, we may draw other, no less important conclusions. The crime might not have happened--the leaders of certain services of the Karaganda Foundry need only have displayed more attentiveness and more responsibility in the performance of their direct duties. Established in good time strict supervision of the storage, maintenance and writing off of the valuable metal. And adopted a proprietorial attitude toward state property. After all, it is precisely lax management which gives rise to encroachments on socialist property and makes embezzlement and then speculation possible.

The testimony in the case of B. Vysotin, chief metrologist of the foundry, N. Zhidelev, foreman of the central laboratory of the measuring instruments shop, and other officials is interesting in this respect. It was to them, it turned out, no secret that platinum wire was being removed freely from the enterprise by those at odds with their consciences. That it was being unreliably stored, that it was being written off without a system, that there was no special supervision of its use and that the percentage of the valuable metal which had been written off was manifestly overstated. To judge by everything, the foundry is still not aware of the entire seriousness of the situation. The supervision and accounting of platinum wire have now been regulated somewhat here, it is true. The mechanics obtain the thermocouples from the section foreman with his signature, and they are handed back to him. The place where they are installed and the weight of the precious metal are indicated specifically. But the instruments and written-off wire are stored as before: the drawers and storage areas are not sealed. The instruments recording the writeoffs are produced just as formally.

The question naturally arises: would it, by the way, be a lesson for the leadership and party organization of the foundry to have a second trial connected with the embezzlement of the valuable metal? They still see here as the reason for the situation created at the enterprise concerning the "escape" of platinum wire the fact that "there is no all-union instruction regulating basic provisions connected with the storage, use and writing off of the valuable metal."

But can this really serve as justification? Can only instructions and regulations be the guide to action and the basic criterion of the performance of official and civic duty. Of course not. Although it would do the appropriate ministries and organizations no harm to finally give this serious



thought also. Such instructions could be a considerable help for other metallurgical enterprises where thermocouples with platinum wire are used.

But such an argument can in no way be justification for a lax attitude toward public property, even less toward precious metal constituting property of our state. And must not be. The Communist Party teaches us the ability to make full and expedient use of everything that we have and adopt a solicitous, proprietorial attitude toward this. This seemingly simple and very routine cause it terms the core of our state's economic policy.

And no one has the right to forget this.

The criminal group detected by the republic's state security authorities was deservedly punished. V. Kholodkov was sentenced to 7 years' imprisonment in a strict-rule corrective-labor settlement, N. Gritsenko to 9 years, V. Nazarov to 11 years and V. Balygin to 13 years.

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## REGIONAL

### PSKOV OBKOM SECRETARY ON AGRICULTURAL LABOR SHORTAGE

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Nov 82 p 2

[Article by A. Rybakov, first secretary of Pskov Obkom: "The Land Answers"]

[Text] Carrying out the decrees of the CPSU Central Committee May Plenum. Concern for the land is inconceivable without concern for the person who works on it--growing the grain, flax and potatoes and tending the cattle. This is particularly obvious in the non-chernozem, where the shortage of workers is keenly felt. Thus, in the Pskov community [Pskovshchina] there is a shortage of almost 300 machine operators, 1,000 milkmaids, and many specialists of other extremely important rural professions. After the May (1982) plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, resolution of the most pressing problem, that of providing the kolkhozes and sovkhoses with a labor force of machine operators and livestock breeders, was begun in earnest.

The problems of supplying a rural labor force are an important part of the work of the oblast party organizations. And recently they have had noticeable results. A significant percentage of young people are now returning to their fathers' fields after finishing their SPTU [agricultural professional-technical school] training or military service. Many young men and women studying on kolkhoz and sovkhos grants at agricultural and other educational institutions are also returning to the country. But life is not standing still. Production volumes are increasing, a new vigorous technology is developing. Such services as Selkhoztekhnika, mechanized land reclamation column, and Sel'khozkhimiya are rapidly developing for this reason. They are also staffed by personnel from the local farms, including engineering and technical personnel.

In due course, the party obkom, oblispolkom, and rayon party and soviet organs carefully studied the local situation, taking into account specific conditions in each rayon and farm. At the oblast party conference on the eve of the 26th CPSU Congress, in discussing the quotas for the current five-year plan, we projected that it would take 5 years to build a million square meters of rural housing. I should mention that just over 400,000 square

meters were built in the 10th Five-Year Plan. You can see that the plan is for the program to be increased by a factor of 2.5. This necessitated mobilization of all efforts on the part of the builders and industrial enterprises, along with coordination of their activities and economical development of construction.

The first year has already proven that we can manage the quota. Two hundred thousand square meters of rural housing were put into operation--more than 3,000 modern apartments with conveniences, basically of the farmstead type. The housing program will be carried out in the current year.

At the same time, if we take a broader look at rural problems, then the major obstacle today to progress in the non-chernozem is the fact that the pace of rural construction-installation work is too slow, particularly in housing, socio-cultural and domestic service and production assignment projects, and road construction.

It is already impossible for the rural organizations to cope with the increasing volumes by themselves. An urgent need exists to include the union ministries' construction organizations more actively in the solution of rural food program problems, cutting back for a while on industrial construction projects, particularly since in many enterprises the production capacities created by us are not fully utilized.

Two trends were outlined for the job of supplying the farms with their own labor forces. The first is to inculcate a spirit of love for their native land in the coming generation. We try and convince the young men and women that the land that your father works on, that your grandfather and great-grandfather worked on awaits you. And when this is done well, when the invitation is backed up by a genuine concern for people, then the young people respond.

Not long ago, I had occasion to meet with a teacher in the Porechenskiy secondary school, Nadezhda Veniaminovna Khorlukova. She stated that in their school love of work is instilled from the early years, as the children of the upper grades help their native farm--the kolkhoz imeni XVIII c"yezd partii. There are no machine operator or livestock breeder personnel problems there.

This is not the only example in the oblast. Many farm managers, such as the chairman of the Krasnaya Polyana Kolkhoz, Nikolay Fedorovich Kuznetsov, and the director of the Pobeda Sovkhoz, Hero of Socialist Labor Grigoriy Ivanovich Getsentov, work in close contact with the school pedagogical collectives. They know every potential kolkhoz worker from childhood. And that is why when they finish school the children have no problems with choosing a profession or a place on the land. They already know where they are going to live and work.

The second trend in the task of finding the labor force is to attract the sons of the peasants from the cities. We have observed that many people who have left the country are drawn to their native land, to their village,

when they mature. And now that material incentives have been put into effect following the CPSU Central Committee May Plenum, migration from city to village has begun to increase.

This has certainly not happened spontaneously. For example, more than 40 families who have lived on the farm at one time or another have returned to the Novosokol'nicheskii Sovkhoz. And here's how it happened. The sovkhos director, Mikhail Nikolayevich Yeliseyev, who had applied for this position when he was deputy chairman of the rayispolkom, first struck up a correspondence with the villagers who had left. He invited them to visit and see how their fellow countrymen lived. Naturally, a large housing construction project was begun in the sovkhos, and a great deal of attention was given to improving work conditions in the fields and with the livestock. The people came and took a good close look. And many expressed a wish to return to the farm.

Or another example. In the Pskov community the Belorussia Sovkhoz is being built by Belorussian managers, which is to become in time one of the largest in the oblast. Construction is still not finished. However, more than 400 people are already working on the sovkhos. Many of them came from our cities and other oblasts. The new settlers like the living and working conditions. A lot of former city dwellers are also working on other farms of the oblast where the administrators of party and trade union organizations are trying to create an atmosphere that will enable people to get used to a new place.

We were convinced a long time ago: steady work, according to plan, to get a labor force for the farm, cannot help but get results. Here is an instructive example. Several years ago, in the Velikolukskiy Rayon, they took the course of assigning the young to the land when they did their planning. And now, on that farm there is a constant influx of young machine operators, livestock breeders and other specialists. When this job began the obkom party bureau supported the rayon's undertaking. And this spring we drew up a summary of the Velikolukskiy experience, and we will try and disseminate it everywhere. Its most important aspect is its concern for people and the creation of appropriate conditions for their work, life, and leisure.

Now, the people who work the land are very particular about how their work is organized and how time and facilities are used. And this is as it should be. It must be confessed that the country got a good deal less meat, milk and flax than it should have from the oblast, and this was not entirely because of the difficult weather conditions of recent years. I will say candidly that the weather has never pampered us. Consequently, we have to offset the weather conditions with a high degree of organization. This has not been successful everywhere. Among certain farm administrators a dependent state of mind has taken root, a reluctance on their part to think and take responsibility. Many organizations operating in the country, primarily the builders and also the Sel'khoztekhnika, Sel'khozkhimiya and the Pskovmelioratsia [Pskov Land Reclamation] subdivision have also done their little bit. No explanation is needed of the difficult position in which

their unsatisfactory work has placed the kolkhoz or sovkhoz. And the situation was such that numerous organizations who were called to help the rural workers did not fulfill their own commitments. We devoted most of our attention to the work of these subdivisions, trying in every possible way to pull them up.

For example, the Pskovmelioratsiya Association was short 40,000 hectares of reclaimed and 76,000 hectares of cultivated land in the last five-year plan. The director of the association was let go due to unsatisfactory management. The party obkom bureau recommended A. Dolgalev, who had worked up to this point as the first secretary of one of the party raykoms, for this position. The association subdivisions, scattered throughout the entire oblast, did not have a single party organ to coordinate the activities of the primary organizations. The specialists in land reclamation created a partkom [party committee] with R. Kuchin, former deputy chief of the agricultural department of the CPSU obkom as secretary. This year and last year the land reclamation specialists improved their work. The amount of land reclaimed for the farm has increased by almost 20 percent, and the quality of the work is improving.

It was also necessary to replace the manager of the Pskovsel'stroy trust who, as the main rural contractor, had never managed to do projects according to plan. A one-client service was created in the oblast agricultural administration. It coordinates construction progress in the village, and can intervene quickly when there are shortcomings. And things have improved.

The raykoms, of course, carry the main burden in the organization of affairs. And, as life prevails, many of them are also required to redevelop their work style. Sometimes "this-minuteness" [siyuminutnost'] and work done in spurts overshadow the long-range view, but the burning issues confronting management, such as sowing, harvesting or fodder procurement, make it impossible to consider problem questions thoroughly and in depth. Not long ago the obkom bureau took a look at the state of livestock affairs in a number of rayons. One of the raykom secretaries, in speaking of organizational work among livestock specialists, casually stated that an experiment by a neighboring rayon with 24-hour grazing would not be adopted until the following year. Why not this year, why wasn't it done even last year if the experiment is well known?

There are a lot of large farms in the oblast, such as the Pobeda and Vyaz'e sovkhozes and the Peredovik kolkhoz. Yielding 25-30 quintals of wheat on an average, and more than 3,000 kilograms of cows' milk annually, they have repeatedly won the All-Union Socialist Competition. At the bottom of their success lies painstaking, day-to-day work with people and thoughtful selection of specialists, whose spirits have been imbued with creativity, independence, and responsibility.

And, next, there are a lot of farms where the results get a good deal more modest from one year to the next. Why? Well, it's because there is a different style of work there, a different approach to the job. Often the people there are still on the second plan. The party obkom is now pointedly

instructing all administrators on the necessity of adopting the style of the best workers more energetically.

In a number of raykoms the approach to the job still persists where instead of thoughtful analysis and calculation of real strengths, coordination of facilities suffices for most problems; it becomes clear that this cannot be taken care of immediately. Many things that are started have to be abandoned half-way through.

Some party raykoms don't have the skills to solve problems systematically, picking out the first priority problems from the multitude and concentrating on their strengths. Livestock breeding has become one of these problems. A severe forage reserve shortage is the main thing holding the branch back from further intensification. We are exerting all of our efforts to fully resolve this problem. It was discussed at the CPSU obkom plenum, and we are steadily trying to meet the plan.

The tremendous significance given to agricultural development by the party inspires the people and makes it incumbent on the party organizations and committees to conduct their affairs even better, with constant concern for the work and life of the farm workers. These concerns are of central importance to the communists of the oblast.

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## REGIONAL

### TURKMEN KOLKHOZ CHAIRMAN COMPLAINS OF THOUGHTLESS CENTRALIZATION

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Nov 82 p 7

[Article by K. Akhmed'yarov, chairman of the kolkhoz "40 let TuSSR" and deputy of the TuSSR Supreme Soviet, Ashkhabad Oblast: "To be Owner of the Land. The Food Program: Potential for Economic Growth"]

[Text] "I am asking to be admitted to the kolkhoz...." These lines are from a letter which arrived not long ago at our farm. I glance at the return address. What do you know, from a neighboring rayon again. And similar letters often arrive from far away: from other Turkmen oblasts, from the Russian federation, from the Transcaucasian republics.

What attracts people to our farm? The question is far from simple.

In speaking of eliminating the differences between town and country, you would not call ours an example of this. Of course there is electricity, gas, and asphalt has been laid here and there. But I will say candidly that there is still a long way to go to reach a modern life-style. Perhaps, then, it's the solid wages? In the kolkhoz they are actually 1.5 to two times higher than on the so-called middle peasant farms. And I still think that it's not just because they're out for the money that people are prepared to come to us. In my opinion it is important to the modern peasant how this money is earned. A man wants his work to be interesting, and he wants his initiative and cleverness to be appreciated, the proprietary approach to his job.

Our experience convinced us of what was noted in the May (1982) decrees of the CPSU Central Committee Plenum: a rise in agricultural efficiency is impossible without stable economic conditions. And such conditions are created by people, the entire collective, from the farmer and cattle-breeder up to the specialists and leaders.

Our kolkhoz was considered to be lagging behind. Among the great number of economic and organizational reasons for this was the lack of personal responsibility for labor. Personal responsibility was, as a rule, borne by one brigade leader. And he was responsible. Complications and accounting and control shortfalls dampened each worker's enthusiasm and did not promote maximum efficiency.

Now all subdivisions are put on a cost-accounting basis. Fields, irrigation ditches, implements and transportation are assigned to the brigade. The kolkhoz worker is paid for his labor based not only on the quantity and quality of production, but on its cost and on branch profitability.

Before the kolkhoz was put on a cost-accounting basis, the following scenario could often be observed in the fields. The kolkhoz workers quietly sun themselves under the trees, while the brigade leader is literally running his legs off, looking for a negligent irrigator. The brigade members have reasoned like this: we are ready to work, that's what we came for. It's not our fault they say, if the irrigator broke the rule. It's his problem. Don't pick on him, formally it's as though everything was normal. And in reality? The carelessness of one man shut down the rest of them.

The new form of labor organization eliminated such things. In the case of delay by the same irrigator, he would answer not only to the brigade leader but also to his comrades. Time has proved that strict judgment has had a beneficial effect on the negligent, quickly "curing" them. Collective responsibility for the labor's end results has become the key factor by which we were able to improve the economy of the farm.

Last year, for example, the kolkhoz receipts were 16 million rubles, a third of it net. Meat, milk, egg, produce, melon, wool and silkworm cocoon production has recently increased several times over. Even the raising of produce, a labor-intensive branch, has already been highly profitable for many years. The stable crop capacity is 350-400 quintals.

I will now discuss wages. We establish a specific quota for the brigade according to production output. We set supplementary wages for a yield over and above the plan. If you figure that it would be more profitable for you to plant a few onions, for example, the management does not object. It only encourages initiative. But remember: the established plan for brigade production must be met, all the same. There is only one thing to be done in such a situation: to steadily raise crop capacity in order to plant other crops on the land that has thereby become available.

Striving to attain the best end results facilitates the constant search for resources and efficient introduction of the newest achievements of science and engineering. A shop for the production of chlorella, a nutrient feed additive, has been built on the initiative of our poultry farm specialists. Not long ago they obtained the first citrus crops, cultivated in a lemon-tree nursery. The transition to an industrial base according to plan and the rapprochement of workers' and kolkhoz farmer's working conditions enhances the prestige of the majority of the agricultural professions. And the young are attracted by the opportunity to utilize their knowledge and skills to the utmost. And not without success: not one graduate has left the kolkhoz in the last 3 years.

In the May (1982) Plenum, the CPSU Central Committee noted that maximum persistence, initiative and resourcefulness must be developed, to use all



potential and capabilities, so as not only to fulfill, but to substantially exceed the projected plans. This plan is completely relevant to us, the people involved in agriculture. However, I want to note that everything does not always depend solely on us.

Take, for example, our connections to the consumer. In most cases they are direct. We send meat to the combine, milk to the plant, and wool to the mill. In the case of produce, then the middleman appears--the procurement office. It's possible that at one stage its role was a positive one. But now, when many farms have become economically established, when there is a considerable machine pool in each, in my opinion a procurement office is not a necessity everywhere. They sometimes hinder the work. It is not by accident that there are so often breaks in the chain from field to store. You see, between the field and the store looms the menacing figure of the government purveyor, who has none but his own interests at heart. At the same time, precious time is lost in the observance of different formalities and the quality of production suffers. And, yes, the quantity also.

At times we suffer from superfluous, even thoughtless centralization. We did our own packaging before. And suddenly we realize: the end of handicraft has come, a packaging enterprise has been created in the rayon which at first glance is really not a bad idea. And in practice--it couldn't be worse. For the boxes made industrially proved to be one and a half times more expensive than our own. Clearly it is better for the kolkhoz to do them the old way. And we are not allowed to--specialization! Who needs an innovation like this, promising losses to the kolkhozes instead of profits, and making production more expensive? We, the economists are not at all against centralization: but let the boxes be cheaper, or at least the same price as our homemade ones.

Implementation of the food program and further intensification of agricultural production depends in many respects on the work of the neighboring branches, and, first of all, on the builders. And they not infrequently let us down. Back in 1975 a decision was made concerning construction of a modern settlement on the central farmstead, at an estimated cost of nearly 20 million rubles. A special PMK [mobile mechanized column] was created, and we set aside a parcel of land for its production base. And for what?

In 7 years the builders have been able to put into production only a tenth of the means designated for them. Work has stopped on the erection of a Palace of Culture, a kindergarten, an administrative building, a boiler-house and housing development.

The planning estimates that the kolkhoz spent hundreds of thousands of rubles to work out are growing old. It has turned repeatedly to the Ministry of Agricultural Construction of the Turkmen SSR asking that order be brought to the PMK under their jurisdiction. In reply it has received promises and positive statements, but they have not done their part.

And, still, regardless of many problems, people work with interest and enthusiasm, and willingly come into our kolkhoz. They want to be the real land-owners, to improve its productivity, to bring about good crop capacity, and to rejoice in the fruits of their labor.

REGIONAL

UZBEK SSR WELCOMES 18 MILLIONTH CITIZEN

[Editorial Report] Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA on 15 December 1982 carries on page 4 a 300 word article "welcoming" Anvar Miraliyev who was born in December as the 18 millionth citizen of the Uzbek SSR. It is noted in the article that while in 1913 there were 4,434,000 people living in what is now the Uzbek SSR as of 1 January 1982 there 16,591,000 persons. In December, 1982 the figure has gone over 18 million.

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